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846 789 [824] is also a valuable charm against evil spirits and is often used. Ashes from the fire burning within the room are also taken and sprinkled around the cot or around the spot where the newborn infant is lying on the floor. No spirit will dare cross this line of ashes. Ashes are also placed on the door sill to bar access to the house from that direction. Iron is similarly used; bits of nails being driven into the frame about the door, or a piece of iron hung just over it. Sometimes wine may be sprinkled around the delivery room after the *dai* has cleaned up. This attracts the beneficent deities and as a result the evil ones will have to flee. During those six critical nights an elderly man should sleep just outside the doorway. Every form of protection known should be attempted, for there is no telling where *bhuts* may enter as they can come into the house as air does.

853 825 There is a night bird belonging to a class of owls which the Kols greatly fear. This is the night-jar (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*), called by them the *kurset* bird and often known as the goatsucker. As it is particularly fond of human milk this bird is said to watch for the women nursing babies. During the night, when the mother and child are sound asleep, this bird is very active and may slip into the house and draw the milk from the mother's breast. The mother is not aware of this, or if she is dimly conscious of something, she believes that the baby is feeding. For lack of milk the child does not grow, gets thinner and thinner and soon dies. Its constant crying is a sure sign that the *kurset* bird is stealing away its milk. The mother is also affected and may die. The [342] best possible protection against this bird is the closed door (there 824] being no windows), with branches of the *nim* tree hanging over it. He may also be frightened away by ill-sounding noises. These birds, commonly seen in Central India, have a peculiar way of looking at one, as if they were staring and searching for something.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord, called the *nara*, has usually fallen off by the sixth day and this is invariably buried in the floor of the house, and fire kept burning over the place of its burial for six days more. Several things are buried with the cord, although reports vary. [824] Occasionally some *bel* leaves are put with it and it is thus interred; again a few copper pice, some turmeric (*haldi—Curcuma longa*) and *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) are also buried with it. At other times some grains of rice may be coloured yellow with *haldi* and then dropped one by one into the hole prepared for the cord. As each grain is dropped the name of some relative is called. In the future the child should hold [551] these names in great respect and never call such persons directly by name. This dropping of rice, however, is not usually observed. The burial of the *nara* or cord is said to be very important. It is really a

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553 derived from the month of *Phagun* (February-March), or the town or village of his birth may be selected. More often though, the name of some Hindu deity or hero is given: combinations of Ram being common as Ram Prasad, Ram Avatar and the like. In Appendix II is given a list of Kol names.

551 It is common though, to find that the name thus officially given to the child is seldom used in actual life and a pet name or *alias* is used. This name is often a coarse one, or one considered inauspicious. The real name is kept secret and often forgotten and the child becomes known by his alias. A name is really part of one's personality and can be misused if obtained possession of by an unfriendly person or spirit. So the child may be called *Makkhi* (fly), *Ghatila* and *Ghasu* (pulled up, useless), *Pagal* (crazy), *Langra* (lame), *Ghuruwa* (filth) or *Kana* (one-eyed). When directly asked why such names as these are given two answers were commonly given: the first is that high caste people did not like to hear low caste people called by high-sounding names. This is probably a rationalization, though there may be truth in it. The second answer was the frank avowal that some malicious [754] person or *bhut* might come to know of the real name and through it work some mischief on the person concerned.

852 *Hair Cutting*: *Mundan*. Occasionally this also becomes an
302 opportunity for a ceremony of a special kind, but like name-giving a great deal is not made of it; particularly among the more primitive Kols.
[177] If the family is somewhat Hinduised they may have the hair cut on the banks of the sacred Nerbudda River; or the ceremony may be performed in the house by calling the Hindu *nai*, who shaves the head, leaving but a small top-knot called the *choti*. Adult Kols, however, [782] do not always keep the *choti*. If they can afford it a young kid or pig is sacrificed at this time and the blood sprinkled over a fire placed before some *devi* such as Shardamai. The animal is then cooked and is feasted upon by all. The *nai* may be paid one rupee for his services. The time of hair cutting is not fixed, but it is generally done between the time of the close of the mother's impurity and the first anniversary of the child's birth. Yet there are exceptions to this, even if it be the regular procedure, for we have often seen Kol boys with uncut and unkempt hair. When the older folks have been asked why this is allowed they have given various answers. One family said that they would not cut their child's hair until they returned to their native land of Rewa when it would be "properly" cut. Another said that until there was a marriage in the family they would not cut the child's hair. It is also held that it is left uncut so that the demons will believe

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562 There are at least two other things which a Kol woman must never do: she may not plough, nor climb up on the roof of a house. 543 Such matters are looked upon as serious breaches of custom and deserve 784 a penalty from the *panch*. Repeated enquiries elicited no recent 241 violations of these taboos, and there was no definite statement as to 481 what would be done in case they occurred. This latter taboo, however, probably has its exceptions, as we knew of a Kol woman helping to repair a roof on the mission house in Barela.

551 It is the rule that wives should never utter their husband's name 543 and the same is true of the husband who should never call his wife by her name. They are addressed, rather, as the mother or father of the children. For example if the child's name is Makkhi the husband will address his wife as Makkhi's mother. There is another general pro- [561] hibition to the effect that a woman should never speak the name of a man older than herself; he should be addressed in some indirect way.

847 PARENTS AND CHILDREN. Kols say that children are Bhagawan's 858 gifts to them in answer to Sheori's prayer. Both sexes are welcome in the home and there is no evidence that they favour one above the other. 842 Abortion is all but unknown and it is considered an evil thing to attempt it. Apparently they know of no herb or plant growing in the jungle which would cause it.

868 When children are old enough they are assigned tasks about the house (there is no school besides this)—the girls learn cooking and other household duties, gather wood and cow dung, while the boys help herd goats or cattle, if any, or accompany their fathers to the fields where they play about and help to bring back its produce or the wood cut in the forest.

867 Almost no moral training, as such, is imparted, nor are the children severely punished when discipline is called for. A slap over the ear [861] is usually all that is attempted and more often than not this is adroitly dodged. On the whole Kol parents are over indulgent with their children. The sum of moral training was said to be "Don't steal, don't lie, don't hurt anyone." When they were asked about the type of religious instruction given to children they said: "We neither know, nor can we tell." What children learn is largely by observation and practice rather than by direct instruction. Among the more literate people of Northern India moral teaching is given through the reading of such literature as the Ramayana of Tulsi Das. The Kols, though, do not have even this, unless it so happens that a mendicant reads to them, nevertheless it would not appear that their morals are any worse than those who have considerable more light to guide them.

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examples are current among low caste Hindus and do not represent the more polished type to be found higher up.

Milk. The use of milk has been mentioned in connection with the magic circle. The good spirits like it, and certain evil spirits are passionately fond of it. Milk is scattered over the ashes after the funeral pyre has burnt down. Milk propitiates Nag, the serpent god.

Names. Great care should be exercised in the selection and use of names, as they become a part of one's personality. A good name is also attractive to evil spirits, and if the spirits come to know that a certain child has such a name they may make an attack on the innocent thing. Therefore, call the child by an evil name such as 'fly', 'filth', 'one-eyed', and the spirits will not condescend to notice him. Such names protect in another manner as well. If one gets possession of the name of someone—his real name—he may, through the charms of black magic, work harm to the person concerned. Therefore the child's true name should never be known to people lest they should work ill with it. The use of magic on a false name is ineffective and no harm can come to one.

Noises of various types are demon-scarers for they dislike noise; hence the beating of drums, the occasional fireworks and other devices, by which loud noises are produced when necessary.

Nuts and Seeds of various kinds are useful. Many Kol children have a *ghata* nut (*Ziziphys xylopyrus?*) tied to a string which is hung somewhere about the person, often on the wrist. Mustard seeds are freely sprinkled about if spirits are expected, and, as in the case of limes, distract their attention. They are scattered round the place where a body is burnt. Black *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) is often used on similar occasions. The *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) is placed below the sacred pole in the marriage booth and under the foundation stone of the house. These are in this manner protected from evil.

Salt has its magic use among the Kols. It has a preservative power, and this, together with its power over demons, accounts for its being scattered over the place where the dead have been cremated. It should not be put into the food during the period of mourning after a death in the home, and the chief mourner should not use it for a year.

Scape Animals. Among Kols there is a belief that an evil spirit resident in a man may be transferred to an animal and the man thus freed. It is not unusual to bring a man believed to be possessed of a spirit before the shrine together with a chicken or goat, usually the former. The *panda* invokes Khermai amid singing and drumming, or mostly drumming, and there may be a *bara* along with it. Under

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Appendix II

LIST OF KOL NAMES: MALE AND FEMALE

The number following the name indicates the number of times that particular name was found. 551

I. Names of Men:

Agurnū
Ajwā
Arjun
Āshram

Bābādin
Bābōlāl (3)
Bahdanwālā
Bajrangī (3)
Baldī
Bālirām
Bandsōdhārī (2)
Bansau
Bakrū (2)
Barlāl (2)
Baṭhuā
Batihā
Bhaddī (2)
Bhaddhū
Bhaiyālāl (2)
Bharōsā (4)
Bhōka
Bhujiā
Bhūpat
Bhūra (2)
Bidewar
Bidnāth
Bisrām (3)
Bisrāmnāo
Bōddhī
Bōrā
Borsākī
Brindāban
Buddhū (2)

Chaita (2)
Chaitrām
Chakōdī
Chakōrī
Chamrū
Chandāmī
Chandin
Cherko
Chindwādī
Chunnīlāl
Chhangā
Chhannū
Chhoṭā
Chhoṭālāl (2)
Chhutai

Dādu
Dafaiwālā
Dāmilāl
Daśarā
Desain
Devī (2)
Devidin
Dhōlī
Dhunkā
Diman
Durgī
Dwārkā Prasād

Gabarū
Ganesh
Garibā
Gautiyā
Ghanesham
Gullū

Hajra
Hajrai
Halkī
Harilāl
Horilāl
Hukumā
Jagadhāri.
Jagadin.
Jagdeo.
Jaggā.
Jailāl.
Jāmālin.
Jari.
Jeman.
Jeṭhū.
Jhālā.
Jhennā.
Jiban.
Jātawālā.
Jhuniā.

Kairā.
Kalkū.
Kallū (3)
Kammā
Kandhāl.
Kandilāl.
Kangai.
Kapuriā.
Khamenā.
Khetdāiyā.
Khimiyā.
Kolāri.
Kouri.
Kulhāiā.

Mahādeo (3)
Mahādevī.
Mahāngū (2)
Mahāngunwā.
Mallā.
Makkhī.
Maṇgal (3)
Maṇglā.
Manitollia.

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551 Markā
Matukdhāri
Mehiā
Mihālāl
Mohan
Mori
Muliā
Mullāiā
Mulu
Munlāl
Murāli
Murl (2)

Nandilāl
Nannū
Namiyā
Narbud
Nauhuldi
Nunhū
Nunsarwale

Pachhā
Pachoki
Pacholā
Pāgal (2)
Pakire Pardesi
Pancham (2)
Pansan
Parśadi
Phaggū (3)
Phragū
Piyārilāl
Pusan
Pusiā

Rājā
Rāmadin (3)
Rāmāvatār (2)
Rāmcharan
Rāmdās
Rāmdhāri
Rāmlāl (2)
Rāmnāth.
Rāmphal.
Rāmparśād (3)
Rāmśaran.

Sādhulāl.
Sādhuwā.
Sahain.
S'amśera.
Sepāl.
Sonā.
S'ripraśād.
Subhai.
Sukhrām.
Sukkhā (3)
Summan.

Ṭhākurdin.

Unjiyā.

Viālā.

Total men 805

II. Names of Women:

Baurini
Buddhiā

Jaghi
Joghāri

Maiki
Maiti
Muliā
Mungi (2)
Phuliabāi.

Ramiā.
Rāmkāli.
Ratani.

Sandi.
Semani.
Sukhbāri (3)
Sumanti.
Sundari (2)
Suniā (2)

Total women 23